

***REALIZING THE DREAM: THE NEW NONVIOLENCE
REVOLUTION***

By

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MAULANA AZAD MEMORIAL LECTURE

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I AM HONORED AND PRIVILEGED TO BE GIVEN THE OPPORTUNITY TO DELIVER THE PRESTIGIOUS MAULANA AZAD MEMORIAL LECTURE ON THIS THE 50TH ANNIVERSARY OF MY FATHER'S PILGRIMAGE TO INDIA...

YOU DON'T HAVE TO LOOK FAR TO FIND THE BEAUTIFUL LEGACY OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE, RECONCILIATION AND UNITY LEFT BY THE LIKES OF MAULANA AZAD, MAHATMA GANDHI, JAWAHARLAL NEHRU AND MOTHER TERESA . THESE GREAT SOULS ARE TRULY GIFTS TO ALL PEOPLE OF THE WORLD, FROM THEIR MOTHER INDIA.

THE TWENTIETH CENTURY WILL BE REMEMBERED AS THE MOST VIOLENT THROUGHOUT ALL CIVILIZATION. ONE RESEARCHER REPORTS THAT NEARLY 100 MILLION WAR-RELATED DEATHS OCCURRED LEAVING IN A CONSTELLATION OF WOUNDED AND MAIMED, FATHERLESS AND MOTHERLESS, HOMELESS AND HELPLESS REFUGEES.

BUT THE TWENTIETH CENTURY WILL NOT ONLY BE MOURNED FOR THE MAGNITUDE OF ITS VIOLENCE, IT WILL ALSO BE MARKED BY THE WOMEN AND MEN WHO MADE THE ULTIMATE SACRIFICE FOR TRUTH AND JUSTICE, PEACE AND NONVIOLENCE, CONFLICT RESOLUTION AND COMMUNITY RECONCILIATION.

THEY WERE THE PEACE MAKERS OF THE “PEOPLE-POWER” REVOLUTION OF THE PHILIPPINES, THE VELVET REVOLUTION IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA, THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, THE FREEDOM MOVEMENT OF SOUTH AFRICA AND THE SATYAGRAHA in INDIA. THEY WERE FOUND IN POLAND, SERBIA, ESTONIA, AND LITHUANIA.

THESE CHAMPIONS OF PEACE UNDERSTOOD THAT WAR IS NOT JUSTIFIED AS A NECESSARY EVIL AND THAT THE END DOES NOT JUSTIFY THE MEANS.

BUT HOW WILL WE RESPOND TO THEIR EXAMPLE IN THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY? AS I HAVE PONDERED THIS QUESTION, I HAVE DONE SO WITH THE FEELING THAT ITS CHILLING TRAJECTORY PORTENDS A CENTURY THAT IS NO LESS VIOLENT AND ARGUABLY MORE DANGEROUS THAN THE ONE BEFORE IT. WITH THAT REALIZATION, THE PIERCING TITLE OF ONE OF MY FATHER’S BOOKS LOOMS LARGE: “WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE?”

IN RESPONSE, I SOUGHT THE ANSWER, IN PART, THROUGH THE CREATION OF REALIZING THE DREAM, INC. I CAME TO REALIZE THAT DREAMING HAS ITS PLACE, BUT AT SOME POINT, WE’VE GOT TO TRANSFORM OUR DREAMS INTO VISION AND OUR VISION INTO ACTION.

THE VISION THAT MY FATHER HAD WAS FOR A WORLD WHERE POVERTY, RACISM AND MILITARISM, THE “TRIPLE EVILS,” DID NOT EXIST. THIS VISION WAS, OF COURSE, SHARED BY MAHATMA GHANDI, WHO LINKED THE PROGRESS OF THE FUTURE TO ERADICATING POVERTY THROUGH NON-VIOLENT MEANS. NEITHER COULD ENVISION A WORLD THAT WAS AT PEACE WITH POVERTY, WHICH THEY REGARDED AS A FORM OF VIOLENCE. IF WE ARE

TO BE FOLLOWERS OF THE PATH WORN BY THEIR MIGHTY FOOTSTEPS IT IS OUR DUTY TO ACT TOWARDS THE ACHIEVEMENT OF ALL THEIR GOALS.

WE MUST UNDERSTAND THAT CONFLICT IS AN INEVITABLE OCCURRENCE—IN OUR HOMES, COMMUNITIES, WORK PLACES, NATIONS AND THROUGHOUT THE WORLD. YET, CONFLICT IS NOT NECESSARILY A BAD THING, AS LONG AS IT IS PEACEFUL CONFLICT. IN FACT, PEACEFUL CONFLICT CAN BE CREATIVE BY FORCING US TO RESPOND TO THE WORLD'S CHANGING REALITIES IN A MORE EFFECTIVE WAY THAT BENEFITS ALL PARTIES.

THIS IS A POSITIVE PATTERN OF CONFLICT, WHICH LEADS TO GROWTH FOR EVERYONE INVOLVED. THIS POSITIVE PATTERN OF CONFLICT IS HAPPENING EVERY DAY THROUGHOUT THE WORLD, AND FOR THIS WE SHOULD BE GRATEFUL.

REGRETTABLY, THERE IS ALSO A VERY DESTRUCTIVE, NEGATIVE PATTERN OF CONFLICT. THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE PATTERN OF CONFLICT IS VIOLENCE.

VIOLENCE IN OUR FAMILIES AND BETWEEN DIFFERENT GROUPS IN OUR COMMUNITIES IS A VERY URGENT CONCERN. IN A VERY REAL SENSE, THE WAY TO PEACE BEGINS IN OUR HOMES, WHERE CHILDREN GET THEIR EARLIEST TRAINING ON HOW TO RESPOND TO CONFLICT. THOSE WHO ARE RAISED IN HOMES WHERE CONFLICTS ARE ADDRESSED WITH PHYSICAL VIOLENCE AS OPPOSED TO PEACEFUL NEGOTIATION ARE READY RECRUITS FOR THE GANGS, THE WARLORDS AND THE TERRORISTS OF OUR WORLD.

THE WARS IN IRAQ AND AFGHANISTAN, THE GENOCIDE IN DARFUR, THE CONTINUED UNREST IN ISRAEL AND PALESTINE, THE BLATENT ABUSES IN BURMA AND THE TRAGIC BOMBINGS IN MUMBAI ARE SOME OF THE MOST

EXTREME EXAMPLES OF NEGATIVE CONFLICT IN NATIONS AROUND THE GLOBE.

REAL VISION AND LEADERSHIP IN THESE DIFFICULT DAYS DEMAND THAT WE MEET THE CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES OF OUR AGE WITH A POSITIVE PATTERN OF PEACE.

IF WE ARE TO BE COMMITTED FOLLOWERS OF MAHATMA GANDHI AND MARTIN LUTHER KING JR., WE MUST BE COMMITTED, NOT ONLY TO ENDING WAR BETWEEN NATIONS, BUT ALSO TO ALL FORMS OF VIOLENCE.

VIOLENCE MAY BE MANIFESTED IN MANY FORMS INCLUDING PHYSICAL, INSTITUTIONAL AND STRUCTURAL. ALL THREE FORMS ARE OFTEN PRESENT IN A CONFLICT SITUATION. AND, THEY ARE MUTUALLY REINFORCING. THEY BREED POWERLESSNESS.

HOW THEN DO WE UNDERSTAND VIOLENCE?

FRED L. PINCUS PROVIDES A FRAMEWORK FOR UNDERSTANDING DISCRIMINATION IN THREE DISTINCT FORMS: INDIVIDUAL, INSTITUTIONAL, AND STRUCTURAL. I SAY, DISCRIMINATION IS A FORM OF VIOLENCE AND THUS, THESE DESCRIPTIONS MAY BE READ BY SUBSTITUTING VIOLENCE IN THEIR PLACE.

INDIVIDUAL VIOLENCE REFERS TO THE BEHAVIOR OF INDIVIDUAL MEMBERS OR SMALL GROUPS OF ONE RACE OR ETHNIC GROUP THAT IS INTENDED TO HAVE A DIFFERENTIAL AND/OR HARMFUL EFFECT ON THE MEMBERS OF ANOTHER RACE OR ETHNIC GROUP. INDIVIDUAL VIOLENCE CAN BE CARRIED OUT BY INDIVIDUALS IN BOTH MAJORITY AND MINORITY GROUPS. EXAMPLES INCLUDE RACIAL SLURS, AN EMPLOYER'S REFUSAL TO HIRE ONE CLASS OF PEOPLE OVER ANOTHER, A LANDLORD'S REFUSAL TO RENT TO

TARGETED ETHNICITIES AND NATIONALITIES AND PHYSICAL ATTACKS ON PEOPLE OF SEPARATE RELIGIOUS FAITH'S.

INSTITUTIONAL VIOLENCE REFERS TO THE POLICIES OF MAJORITY INSTITUTIONS, AND THE BEHAVIOR OF INDIVIDUALS WHO IMPLEMENT THESE POLICIES AND CONTROL THESE INSTITUTIONS, THAT ARE INTENDED TO HAVE A DIFFERENTIAL AND/OR HARMFUL EFFECT ON MINORITY GROUPS. A MAJOR GOAL OF INSTITUTIONAL DISCRIMINATION IS TO KEEP MINORITY GROUPS IN A SUBORDINATE POSITION WITHIN SOCIETY. THE MAJORITY GROUP PREDOMINANTLY CARRIES OUT INSTITUTIONAL DISCRIMINATION BECAUSE THEY CONTROL INSTITUTIONS. IT CAN BE EMBODIED IN LAWS AND GOVERNMENT POLICY. EXAMPLES IN THE UNITED STATES INCLUDE DISCRIMINATION LAWS IN SOUTHERN STATES FROM 1890 TO 1950, GERRYMANDERING VOTING DISTRICTS TO AFFECT THE OUTCOME OF ELECTIONS, REFUSAL TO HIRE HISPANICS GROUPS, AND REAL ESTATE FIRMS STEERING BLACKS AWAY FROM WHITE NEIGHBORHOODS.

STRUCTURAL DISCRIMINATION OR VIOLENCE REFERS TO THE POLICIES OF MAJORITY INSTITUTIONS, AND THE BEHAVIOR OF INDIVIDUALS, WHO IMPLEMENT THE POLICIES AND CONTROL THE INSTITUTIONS THAT ARE RACE NEUTRAL IN INTENT, BUT HAVE A DIFFERENTIAL AND/OR HARMFUL EFFECT ON MINORITY GROUPS. THE KEY ELEMENT IS THAT STRUCTURAL VIOLENCE IS NOT THE INTENT BUT THE EFFECT ON KEEPING MINORITY GROUPS IN SUBORDINATE POSITIONS. IT IS OFTEN DIFFICULT TO DISTINGUISH FROM INSTITUTIONAL VIOLENCE. INSTITUTIONAL DISCRIMINATION HAS INTENDED EFFECTS, WHEREAS, STRUCTURAL DISCRIMINATION HAS UNINTENDED EFFECTS. EXAMPLES INCLUDE INFERIOR EDUCATIONAL SYSTEMS, REQUIRING DEGREES AND CERTIFICATIONS WHEN THEY ARE NOT MATERIAL TO THE QUALIFICATIONS NECESSARY TO PERFORM THE JOB, AND LOAN QUALIFICATION REQUIREMENTS UNDER THE PRETENSE OF "GOOD BUSINESS".

THE TRIPLE EVILS MY FATHER STRUGGLED AGAINST MANIFEST THEMSELVES IN ALL FORMS OF VIOLENCE. COMBATING THE TRIPLE EVILS—POVERTY, RACISM AND MILITARISM—AND ALL OTHER FORMS OF STRUCTURAL VIOLENCE IN THE CONTEXT OF JUSTICE, EQUALITY, AND LOVE IS CENTRAL TO THE WORK OF PEACE MAKING.

IT HAS BEEN SAID THAT PHYSICAL VIOLENCE IS OFTEN THE DESPERATE VOICE OF THE UNHEARD. THIS NOTION CAN BE CONTRASTED WITH STRUCTURAL VIOLENCE, AS THE COLLECTIVE VOICE OF THE UNAFFECTED AND THE INDIFFERENT. THIS IS THE VIOLENCE OF THE COMFORTABLE AND THE UNCARING. FOR YOU SEE, THAT FORM OF VIOLENCE MASQUARDES IN THE GUISE OF THE STATUS QUO, WHILE THE MISGUIDED AND GREEDY SCOFF AT THE PERIL AS THEY DENY THE DANGER OF 2% OF THE WORLD'S ADULT POPULATION OWNING 50% OF THE WORLD'S WEALTH; WHILE 50% OF THE WORLD'S POOREST PEOPLE OWN 1% OF THE WORLD'S WEALTH.

AS IT MAKES ITS WAY EFFORTLESSLY THOROUGHOUT LIFE'S DAILY GRIND FOR COMFORT AND CONVENIENCE, THIS VIOLENCE PREYS ON THE LESS FORTUNATE—POLITICALLY, EDUCATIONALLY, ECONOMICALLY. IN DOING SO, IT ESCAPES THE COMPLACENT EYES OF THE PUBLIC'S CONSCIENCE. ALL THE WHILE, ITS HAND MAIDENS AND MAN SERVANTS SCARCELY NOTICE THE VIOLENCE IN THE MAZE OF LIFE'S MACHINATIONS THAT THE POOR AND DESINFRANCHISED NEGOTIATE DAILY.

I BELIEVE WE MUST BECOME MORE ATTUNED TO ERADICATING THE SUBTLE AND EVEN MORE PERVASIVE VIOLENCE THAT RESULTS FROM UNBRIDLED POLITICAL AMBITION AND UN-CHECKED SOCIAL NEGLECT.

CONSIDER GLOBAL WARMING AND THE PROLIFERATION OF MILITARIZED ECONOMIES. THE "NATURAL" TRAGEDIES HEARD ON THE NEWS ARE FULL OF

STORIES OF THE POOR AND DISADVANTAGED BEARING THE BRUNT OF SUFFERING AND DEVASTATION. LIKEWISE, THE CASUALTIES OF WAR THAT WE ARE ACCUSTOMED TO BURDEN THE MOST HELPLESS IN OUR SOCIETY WITH, WHETHER IT BE THE LOST SOLDIER WHO ENLISTED WITH HOPES OF AN EARNED COLLEGE EDUCATION OR THE CHILDREN OF WAR DEVASTATED BY THE LOSS OF BOTH PARENTS. THESE TRAGEDIES ARE MADE POSSIBLE BY THE VIOLENCE OF THE COMFORTABLE AND THE CONVENIENT.

MY FATHER DECLARED, "THE ULTIMATE MEASURE OF A MAN IS NOT WHERE HE STANDS IN TIMES OF COMFORT AND CONVENIENCE, BUT WHERE HE STANDS IN TIMES OF CHALLENGE AND CONTROVERSARY."

HE ALSO STATED, "COWARDICE ASKS THE QUESTION: 'IS IT SAFE?' EXPEDIENCY ASKS THE QUESTION: 'IS IT POLITIC?' VANITY ASKS THE QUESTION, 'IS IT POPULAR?' BUT, CONSCIENCE ASKS THE QUESTION, 'IS IT RIGHT?' AND THERE COMES A TIME WHEN ONE MUST TAKE A POSITION THAT IS NEITHER SAFE, NOR POLITIC, NOR POPULAR, BUT ONE MUST TAKE IT BECAUSE ONE'S CONSCIENCE TELLS ONE THAT IT IS RIGHT."

WHILE PONDERING THESE WORDS, I AM REMINDED OF MARTIN NIEMOLLER'S COMPELLING POEM RECALLING THE NAZI RISE TO POWER AND THEIR PURGE OF CHOSEN TARGETS:

THEY FIRST CAME FOR THE COMMUNISTS,

AND I DIDN'T SPEAK UP BECAUSE I WASN'T A COMMUNIST.

THEN THEY CAME FOR THE JEWS,

AND I DIDN'T SPEAK UP BECAUSE I WASN'T A JEW.

THEN THEY CAME FOR THE TRADE UNIONISTS,

AND I DIDN'T SPEAK UP BECAUSE I WASN'T A TRADE UNIONIST.

THEN THEY CAME FOR THE CATHOLICS,

AND I DIDN'T SPEAK UP BECAUSE I WAS A PROTESTANT.

THEN THEY CAME FOR ME –

AND BY THAT TIME NO ONE WAS LEFT TO SPEAK UP.

ONE OF MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.'S MORE NOTED QUOTES CONCERNS THE INTERDEPENDENCE OF ALL MANKIND: "WHAT EVER AFFECTS ONE DIRECTLY, AFFECTS ALL INDIRECTLY. THERE IS AN UNAVOIDABLE INTERDEPENDENCE AMONG THE HUMAN FAMILY. EVERY PERSON IS AN HEIR OF A VAST TREASURY OF IDEAS AND LABOR OF WHICH BOTH THE LIVING AND THE DEAD HAVE CONTRIBUTED." THE AGONY OF THE POOR IMPOVERISHES THE RICH; THE BETTERMENT OF THE HAVE-NOTS ENRICHES THE HAVES.

MY FATHER RIGHTFULLY DISCERNED WHAT JONATHAN SCHELL OF THE NATION INSTITUTE STATED:

- VIOLENCE IS A DISEASE THAT PRETENDS TO BE A CURE
- THAT AT ITS MOST EXTREME, FORCE BECOMES SELF-PARALYZING
- AND WAR ULTIMATELY DEFEATS ITSELF.

YES, I OPPOSED MY COUNTRY'S INVOLVEMENT IN THE WAR IN IRAQ, WHICH HAS CLAIMED THE LIVES OF MORE THAN 4,000 AMERICAN SOLDIERS...TOO MANY WHO WERE MERE BOYS AND GIRLS JUST

MATRICULATING TO ADULthood. THE SAME MAY BE SAID OF PERHAPS AS MANY AS 100,000 IRAQIS—AND, THEN, THERE ARE THE COUNTLESS WOUNDED AND MAIMED, IN WHICH THE EMOTIONAL AND SPIRITUAL SCARS OF WAR REMAIN PERMANENT.

OF COURSE, THERE IS A DIRECT CONNECTION BETWEEN THE POLITICS OF WAR AND MILITARISM ON THE ONE HAND AND POLITICAL AMBITION AND SOCIAL NEGLECT ON THE OTHER. WE CAN'T AFFORD TO TOLERATE ILL-CONSIDERED POLICIES THAT REPLACE DIPLOMACY AND PEACEFUL CONFLICT-RESOLUTION WITH ELECTIVE WAR. AS MY FATHER ONCE SAID, "A NATION THAT CONTINUES YEAR AFTER YEAR TO SPEND MORE MONEY ON MILITARY DEFENSE THAN ON PROGRAMS OF SOCIAL UPLIFT IS APPROACHING SPIRITUAL DEATH." HE ALSO SAID THAT "WARS ARE POOR CHISELS FOR CARVING OUT PEACEFUL TOMORROWS."

IT'S NOT JUST THE UNITED STATES. MANY OTHER COUNTRIES HAVE MILITARIZED ECONOMIES, EVEN THOUGH THEY ARE TECHNICALLY NOT AT WAR. THEY TOO ARE NEGLECTING MILLIONS OF POOR PEOPLE BY SQUANDERING THEIR NATIONAL WEALTH ON WEAPONS OF DEATH AND DESTRUCTION.

RIGHT NOW, THERE ARE MORE THAN 1 BILLION CHILDREN LIVING IN POVERTY IN THE WORLD ACCORDING UNICEF. ABOUT 150 MILLION CHILDREN ARE SUFFERING FROM MALNUTRITION; AND IT IS ESTIMATED THAT 11 MILLION CHILDREN DIE OF PREVENTABLE ILLNESSES EACH YEAR. CLEARLY, IF WE ARE TRULY BE FOLLOWERS OF MAHATMA GANDHI AND MARTIN LUTHER KING JR., WE MUST WORK WITH INCREASING DEDICATION TO PUT AN END TO WAR AND MILITARISM, AND INVEST OUR RESOURCES IN SAVING OUR CHILDREN, ENDING POVERTY AND PROTECTING MOTHER EARTH FROM THE RAVAGES OF MAN-MADE DESTRUCTION.

SO WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE? THE LESSONS LEARNED FROM THE MODERN CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES AND THE MOVEMENTS IT SPAWNED IN OTHER COUNTRIES THROUGHOUT THE 20TH CENTURY ARE INSTRUCTIVE. THEY WERE ROOTED IN THE PHILOSOPHY OF NONVIOLENCE.

NONVIOLENCE MAY BE VIEWED AS A PHILOSOPHY THAT RENOUNCES VIOLENCE IN ALL ITS FORMS—INDIVIDUAL, INSTITUTIONAL AND STRUCTURAL, WHILE ACTIVELY RESPONDING TO IT. AS A WAY OF LIFE, NONVIOLENCE IS TRANSFORMATIONAL, BASED ON PHILOSOPHY WITH GENERAL ENDS. AS A TACTIC, NONVIOLENCE MAY BE DESCRIBED AS A TRANSACTIONAL PROCESS, BASED ON PRINCIPLE WITH SPECIFIC OBJECTIVES TO BE ATTAINED. REGARDING CONFLICT, BIGOTRY AND HATRED, THE PHILOSOPHY OF NONVIOLENCE IS A PROCESS FOR ACHIEVING HARMONY THROUGH ACTIVE, PEACEFUL MEANS.

A BASIC PHILOSOPHY OF NONVIOLENCE CAN BE FORMALIZED INTO A SET OF WORKING PRINCIPLES THAT MAY BE USED TO CREATE WHAT MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. CALLED THE BELOVED COMMUNITY. HE ESPOUSED THE PHILOSOPHY OF NONVIOLENCE AS A POWERFUL FORCE FOR EFFECTING SOCIAL CHANGE. HIS APPROACH TO NONVIOLENCE INCLUDED SIX BASIC PRINCIPLES. BRIEFLY STATED THEY ARE:

- 1) NONVIOLENCE IS NOT A METHOD FOR COWARDS;
- 2) IT DOES NOT SEEK TO DEFEAT OR HUMILIATE THE OPPONENT;
- 3) IT ATTACKS THE FORCES OF EVIL RATHER THAN THE PERSONS DOING THE EVIL;
- 4) IT ACCEPTS SUFFERING WITHOUT RETALIATION;

5) IT AVOIDS EXTERNAL PHYSICAL VIOLENCE AS WELL AS INTERNAL VIOLENCE—IT CHOOSES LOVE OVER HATE;

6) NONVIOLENCE HOLDS THAT THE UNIVERSE IS ON THE SIDE OF JUSTICE.

AS A PATH TO PEACE, NONVIOLENCE IS A MEANS TO AND END. A CENTRAL IDEA IN THE PHILOSOPHY OF NONVIOLENCE IS THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN *MEANS* AND *ENDS*: THE MEANS FOR ACHIEVING A GOAL ARE REFLECTED IN THAT GOAL'S ATTAINMENT. THE MEANS *ARE IN THE END*. WHEN WE PROMOTE NONVIOLENCE, WE MUST ACT NONVIOLENTLY IN OUR QUEST. WHEN WE SEEK UNITY WITH OTHERS, WE OURSELVES MUST BE UNIFIED. WHEN WE ASPIRE TO BUILD COMMUNITY, WE MUST BEHAVE AS A COMMUNITY.

MAHATMA GANDHI SUCCINCTLY EXPLAINS THIS BY STATING, "WE MUST BE THE CHANGE WE WISH TO SEE."

AS A PATH TO PEACE, NONVIOLENCE APPLIES DIRECT ACTION METHODOLOGIES TO ACHIEVE TRANSFORMATIONAL RESULTS. NOT ONLY DOES NONVIOLENCE PROVIDE A PHILOSOPHY AND PRINCIPLES, IT DEMANDS ACTION ON THE PART OF THE ONE THAT COMMITS TO IT. DIRECT ACTION IS ACTION DIRECTED AT A SPECIFIC ISSUE. IT DIFFERS FROM SYMBOLIC PROTEST ACTION, SUCH AS, DEMONSTRATION, MARCHES, AND THE LIKE TO BRING PUBLIC ATTENTION TO OPPRESSION AND INJUSTICE AND, THEREBY, COERCE THE AUTHORITY RESPONSIBLE TO CHANGE ITS POLICIES AND PRACTICES.

SINCE THE ACTION IN ITSELF HAS A DIRECT EFFECT, NONVIOLENCE HAS BOTH STRENGTH, A PERSONAL CHARACTERISTIC, AND POWER, AN INTER-

PERSONAL CHARACTERISTIC. IN THE CONTEXT OF NONVIOLENCE, THE KEY ISSUE IS ACTION VERSUS INACTION. ONE MUST DETERMINE *WHETHER* TO ACT OR NOT, BEFORE DETERMINING *HOW* TO ACT.

BECAUSE CONFLICT IS AN INEVITABLE PART OF SOCIAL INTERACTION NONVIOLENCE ADDRESSES THIS INEVITABILITY AS AN OPPORTUNITY, AS OPPOSED TO A THREAT. IN DOING SO, THE END OF ALL THE MEANS APPLIED IN DEALING WITH CONFLICT LEAD TO TRANSFORMATION OF THE SITUATION AND RECONCILIATION OF THE OPPOSING PARTIES.

AS A RESULT, NONVIOLENCE IS A MEANS WHOSE END IS COMMUNITY; WHERE EACH PERSON IS ABLE TO REALIZE HIS/HER GREATEST POTENTIAL. COMMUNITY IS NOT SIMPLY *WHERE* WE ARE, IT IS *WHAT* WE ARE—EVEN MORE IMPORTANT THAN SOMETHING THAT WE *ARE*, IT IS SOMETHING THAT WE *DO*. MORE THAN *PLACE*, IT IS *PEOPLE* INTEGRATED WITH EACH OTHER TO ACHIEVE BOTH INDIVIDUAL AND COLLECTIVE GOALS. THIS IS ESSENTIALLY THE BELOVED COMMUNITY.

FINALLY, THERE IS A SPIRITUAL DIMENSION TO VISION AND LEADERSHIP ON THIS NONVIOLENT PATH TO PEACE, WHICH I BELIEVE WE MUST BEGIN TO ADDRESS MORE DIRECTLY. THE PHILOSOPHY OF NONVIOLENCE THAT I HAVE BEEN TALKING ABOUT IS NOT EXCLUSIVE TO ANY ONE RELIGION OR REGION. THE POWER OF NONVIOLENCE IS AVAILABLE TO PEOPLE IN ALL RACES, ALL CULTURES, AND ALL NATIONS AT ALL TIMES. IT IS NO SECRET THAT THE PHILOSOPHY OF NONVIOLENCE IS WELL-REFLECTED IN THE TEACHINGS OF THE GREAT PROPHETS OF HUMAN HISTORY.

TWENTY-FIVE CENTURIES AGO, THE WISE AND COMPASSIONATE BUDDHA SAID "LET MAN OVERCOME ANGER BY LOVE, LET HIM OVERCOME EVIL BY GOOD." JESUS OF NAZARETH ASSURED HIS FOLLOWERS THAT "BLESSED ARE THE PEACEMAKERS, FOR THEY SHALL BE CALLED THE

CHILDREN OF GOD." THE HINDU SCRIPTURES TELL US THAT "THE NOBLE-MINDED DEDICATE THEMSELVES TO THE PROMOTION OF PEACE AND THE HAPPINESS OF OTHERS, EVEN THOSE WHO INJURE THEM." IT IS WRITTEN IN THE KORAN THAT THE RIGHTEOUS SHALL "HEAR NO IDLE TALK, BUT ONLY THE VOICE OF PEACE." LAO TSE ADVISED HIS FOLLOWERS TO "RECOMPENSE INJURY WITH KINDNESS." WE FIND REVERENCE FOR PEACE AND NONVIOLENCE IN THE SACRED WISDOM OF ALL FAITHS, SPOKEN IN MANY TONGUES BY EVERY RACE OF OUR PLANET.

MAHATMA GANDHI ONCE SAID, "I BELIEVE IN THE FUNDAMENTAL TRUTHS OF ALL RELIGIONS OF THE WORLD. I BELIEVE THEY WERE ALL GOD-GIVEN...AND I BELIEVE THAT IF WE COULD ALL...READ THE SCRIPTURES OF THE DIFFERENT FAITHS...WE SHOULD FIND THAT THEY WERE AT BOTTOM ALL ONE AND WERE ALL HELPFUL TO ONE ANOTHER."

TOO OFTEN THE SACRED PRINCIPLES OF FAITH GET OVERSHADOWED BY TERRITORIAL DISPUTES, NATIONALISM AND THE KIND OF FUNDAMENTALIST FANATICISM THAT DEHUMANIZES PEOPLE OF OTHER FAITHS. THAT IS WHAT WE SAW IN THE UNITED STATES ON SEPTEMBER 11TH, 2001. IT IS WHAT WE WITNESSED IN THE RECENT MUMBAI ATTACKS LAST NOVEMBER. THE RELIGIOUS LEADERS OF THE NATIONS, CITIES AND VILLAGES OF OUR WORLD MUST COME FORWARD FROM THE SHADOWS AND CALL FOR AN END TO THE KILLING. WE MUST SEIZE EVERY OPPORTUNITY TO CALL FOR RELIGIOUS TOLERANCE AND UNITY AMONG ALL PEOPLE OF FAITH.

THE BELIEF THAT LOVE EXISTS AS A POWER INFERIOR TO NONE IS INCLUDED IN BOTH THE KINGIAN ARTICULATION OF *AGAPE* AND MAHATMA GANDHI'S *SATYAGRAHA*. THE PRINCIPLES OF AGAPE LOVE ARE WHAT WE MUST AFFIRM AGAIN AND AGAIN IN CHRISTIANITY, JUDAISM, HINDUISM, ISLAM, BUDDHISM, SHINTOISM AND ALL OF THE OTHER FAITHS. IT IS UP TO US TO TAKE THE MESSAGE OF PEACE, HOPE, AND LOVE TO THE DISTANT AND

DUSTY CORNERS OF OUR BELOVED PLANET EARTH. IN THE END, THIS IS OUR ONLY ALTERNATIVE.

IF HUMANITY IS TO SURVIVE AND PROSPER LET US RESOLVE TO BE AN EXAMPLE TO OUR YOUNG. THEY SHOULD BE TAUGHT THE PRINCIPLES OF NONVIOLENCE COMMON TO ALL RELIGIONS, SO THAT THEY CAN BRING INTO BEING A MORE LOVING AND COMPASSIONATE ERA OF HUMAN HISTORY. LET US REKINDLE A FIRE OF COMMITMENT TO NONVIOLENCE IN THEIR SOULS AND A RADIANT VISION OF INTERFAITH DIVERSITY IN THEIR HEARTS, SO THAT THEY WILL BE ABLE TO CREATE A WORLD WHERE ALL OF HUMANITY CAN LIVE TOGETHER IN FREEDOM, JUSTICE, TOLERANCE AND PEACE.

LET US TEACH THEM THAT ECONOMIC SECURITY, ENVIRONMENTAL HARMONY, FREEDOM AND HUMAN RIGHTS CAN ONLY COME FROM A FIRM FOUNDATION OF DIVERSITY AND UNITY. WE MUST EDUCATE AND TRAIN THEM AND THEIR FAMILIES IN THE PHILOSOPHY AND METHODS OF NONVIOLENT CONFLICT RESOLUTION AND RECONCILIATION. THE NATION OF COSTA RICA HAS MADE NONVIOLENCE EDUCATION A REQUIRED PART OF THE EDUCATION CURRICULAM FOR ITS PUBLIC SCHOOLS, THANKS TO THE INITIATIVE OF NOBEL PEACE PRIZE WINNER OSCAR ARIAS SANCHEZ. THIS IS TRULY A GREAT ACHIEVEMENT, AND ONE WHICH ALL NATIONS SHOULD EMULATE. IF THEY DID, I BELIEVE IT COULD CHANGE OUR WORLD PROFOUNDLY FOR THE BETTER IN A GENERATION OR TWO.

OUR WORLD CRIES OUT FOR NEW LEADERSHIP, LEADERSHIP WITH A VISION THAT EXTENDS BEYOND THE ENDLESS CHAIN OF REVENGE, RETRIBUTION AND RETALIATION AND REACHES ABOVE THE BOTTOMLESS PIT OF INDIVIDUALIZM. IN EVERY NATION, WE MUST MAKE A STRONGER EFFORT TO PREPARE OUR PEOPLE TO BE MAKERS OF PEACE, NOT WAR. WE MUST CREATE A GENERATION WHO UNDERSTANDS THAT PEACE IS NOT JUST THE GOAL, BUT THE WAY!

IF WE ACCEPT THIS CHALLENGE, WE CAN PUT AN END TO WAR AND TERRORISM THROUGHOUT THE WORLD; AND, WE CAN GIVE THE CLARION CALL TO INVEST THE RESOURCES OF EVERY NATION IN HUMAN DEVELOPMENT INSTEAD OF MILITARY ARSENALS.

IF WE ARE TO BE FOLLOWERS OF KINGIAN AND GANDHIAN IDEOLOGY, WE MUST USHER IN A NEW NONVIOLENCE REVOLUTION FOR THE 21ST CENTURY. THIS CHALLENGE DEMANDS A SPECIAL KIND OF LEADERSHIP, IF HUMANITY IS TO THRIVE AND PROSPER IN PEACE WITH SECURITY. NOT EVERYONE CAN BE A GANDHI OR A MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., BUT EVERYONE CAN EMBRACE THEIR TEACHINGS ABOUT COMPASSION AND NONVIOLENCE AND USE THEM TO WORK FOR A BETTER WORLD. THOSE WHO LEAD WITH LOVE CREATE A LASTING LEGACY THAT ENDURES AND ENRICHES OUR LIVES WITH MEANING AND PURPOSE.

WHAT THIS NEW NONVIOLENCE REVOLUTION NEEDS IS A DECLARATION OF OUR INTERDEPENDENCE THAT PROCLAIMS OUR COMMITMENT TO FREEDOM, JUSTICE, AND EQUALITY.

MY FATHER ONCE SAID “AN INDIVIDUAL HAS NOT STARTED LIVING UNTIL HE CAN RISE ABOVE THE NARROW CONFINES OF HIS INDIVIDUALISTIC CONCERNS TO THE BROADER CONCERNS OF ALL HUMANITY.

HE WENT ON TO SAY “ALL LIFE IS INTERRELATED. WE ARE ALL CAUGHT IN AN INESCAPABLE NETWORK OF MUTUALITY, TIED INTO A SINGLE GARMENT OF DESTINY. WHATEVER AFFECTS ONE DIRECTLY, AFFECTS ALL INDIRECTLY.”

AND SO WE MUST PROMOTE THIS AWARENESS OF OUR INTERDEPENDENCE AS SISTERS AND BROTHERS IN GOD’S HUMAN FAMILY. WE ARE CHALLENGED MORE THAN EVER TO THINK OF OUR

INTERDEPENDENCE ON AN EVEN GREATER SCALE, OUR ROLE IN THE WEB OF LIFE ITSELF. WE ARE CALLED TO AFFIRM OUR KINSHIP AND RESPONSIBILITY TO PROTECT GOD'S CREATION AND THE ENVIRONMENT THAT MAKES HUMAN LIFE POSSIBLE.

ONE OF MAHATMA GANDHI'S SAYINGS STATES, "I OBJECT TO VIOLENCE BECAUSE WHEN IT APPEARS TO DO GOOD, THE GOOD IS ONLY TEMPORARY; THE EVIL IT DOES IS PERMANENT."

ANOTHER THAT HAS STRUCK ME SO MUCH IS, "NONVIOLENCE IS THE GREATEST FORCE AT THE DISPOSAL OF MANKIND. IT IS MIGHTIER THAN THE MIGHTIEST WEAPON OF DESTRUCTION DEVISED BY THE INGENUITY OF MAN."

IF WE HAVE THE WILL AND DETERMINATION TO MOUNT A NEW NONVIOLENCE REVOLUTION, "WE WILL UNLOCK HITHERTO TIGHTLY-SEALED DOORS OF HOPE AND TRANSFORM OUR IMMINENT COSMIC ELEGY INTO A CREATIVE PSALM OF PEACE."

YES THIS IS A FORMIDABLE CHALLENGE TO CREATE A NONVIOLENT WORLD COMMUNITY, WHICH PURSUES JUSTICE, OPPORTUNITY AND UNITY. HOWEVER WE HAVE BEEN CALLED TO CREATE A NEW ERA OF HOPE AND HEALING. WE HAVE BEEN CALLED TO CREATE A BELOVED COMMUNITY OF CARING AND COMPASSION, WHERE ALL PEOPLE --- BLACK, RED, YELLOW, BROWN AND WHITE, JEW AND GENTILE, PROTESTANT AND CATHOLIC, HINDU AND MUSLIM – ALL PEOPLE CAN LIVE TOGETHER AS BROTHERS AND SISTERS IN PEACE AND JUSTICE.

MAHATMA GANDHI AND MY FATHER HAD A VISION, NOT JUST FOR THE UNITED STATES, BUT FOR MAKING THE WORLD A BETTER PLACE. HE TALKED ABOUT CREATING A WORLD IN WHICH PEOPLE OF EVERY RACE, RELIGION AND NATION COULD LIVE TOGETHER IN PEACE AND HARMONY AND WORK TOGETHER FOR THE COMMON PROGRESS OF HUMANKIND.

IN THEIR GLOBAL VISION, POVERTY, HUNGER AND HOMELESSNESS WILL NOT BE TOLERATED BECAUSE INTERNATIONAL STANDARDS OF HUMAN DECENCY WILL NOT ALLOW IT.

IN THEIR GLOBAL VISION, RACISM AND ALL FORMS OF DISCRIMINATION, BIGOTRY AND PREJUDICE WILL BE REPLACED BY AN ALL-INCLUSIVE SPIRIT OF SISTERHOOD , BROTHERHOOD AND COMMUNITY.

IN THE THEIR GLOBAL VISION, INTERNATIONAL DISPUTES WILL BE RESOLVED BY PEACEFUL CONFLICT-RESOLUTION AND RECONCILIATION OF ADVERSARIES. LOVE AND TRUST WILL TRIUMPH OVER FEAR AND HATRED. PEACE WITH JUSTICE WILL PREVAIL OVER WAR AND MILITARY CONFLICT.

MY FATHER SPOKE OF A BELOVED COMMUNITY THAT IS NOT A PLACE, BUT A RATHER A STATE OF HEART AND MIND, A SPIRIT OF HOPE AND GOODWILL THAT TRANSCENDS ALL BOUNDARIES AND BARRIERS AND EMBRACES ALL CREATION. TODAY, I CHALLENGE ALL OF US TO DECLARE A NEW NONVIOLENCE REVOLUTION.

WHEN IT COME TO VIOLENCE, LET THE PEOPLE OF FAITH AND CONSCIENCE DECLARE: "THIS FAR AND NO FURTHER!"

LET US DARE TO REALIZE THE DREAM OF A WORLD WHERE NO CHILD OF ANY RACE OR NATION GOES TO BED HUNGRY AT NIGHT,

LET US DARE TO REALIZE THE DREAM OF A WORLD WHERE EVERY FAMILY HAS DECENT SHELTER, EMPLOYMENT FOR THEIR BREADWINNERS AND EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ITS YOUNG PEOPLE.

LET US DARE TO REALIZE THE DREAM OF A NEW GLOBAL ERA, WHEN THE ARMAMENTS OF ANNIHILATION ARE REPLACED WITH THE PLOWSHARES OF RENEWAL.

WITH THIS VISION AND A STEADFAST DETERMINATION TO MAKE MY FATHER'S DREAM OF THE BELOVED COMMUNITY A REALITY, WE CAN BEGIN LAYING THE GROUNDWORK FOR A MORAL, SOCIAL, AND POLITICAL CLIMATE THAT REJECTS TERRORISM AND WAR. WE WILL LIGHT THE WAY TO THE END OF HUMANITY'S LONG NIGHTMARE OF POVERTY, RACISM AND MILITARISM AND THE DAWNING OF A BRAVER AND BETTER FUTURE FOR ALL PEOPLE.

IF WE RISE TO THIS CHALLENGE WITH COURAGE AND DETERMINATION, WE WILL SURELY FULFILL THE DREAM OF THE BELOVED COMMUNITY, WHERE PEOPLE OF ALL RACES, RELIGIONS AND CULTURES CAN LIVE TOGETHER IN A LUMINOUS SPIRIT OF GOODWILL, PEACE AND HARMONY.

WITH THIS FAITH AND WITH THIS COMMITMENT, LET US GO TO THE FOUR CORNERS OF THE GLOBE WITH THE ETERNAL AND LIBERATING MESSAGE OF PEACE THROUGH NONVIOLENCE.

WITH THIS FAITH TOGETHER WE CAN IGNITE A NEW NONVIOLENT REVOLUTION. AND, ULTIMATELY, WE SHALL OVERCOME.

THANK YOU.